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A SURVEY OF RECENT LITERATURE RELEVANT TO OPTIMIZING THE BENEFITS OF YOUTH PROJECTS FOR RURAL YOUTH IN THE SOUTH-EASTERN STATES

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North Star Research and Development Institute

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by

Barbara M. Rogoff, William J. Schneider and Guy H. Miles

to

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A review was made of more than 140 publications which deal with the occupational and social adjustment of rural youths in the Southeastern region. This review focuses on publications that concern the changing economic environment of rural youths, their migration patterns, their educational system, their participation in federal manpower programs, and their occupational and social adjustment.

This literature shows that youths in this region face problems typical to youths in other regions: the lack of jobs in the rural sector, the migration in search of work, and an insufficient educational background to adapt to the modern world of work. Additional problems of poverty, racial discrimination, the far-flung migration of black youths, the high dropout rates, and the underutilization of manpower programs by white youths make this region unique.

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SUMMARY

Introduction

As part of a research study that is aimed at optimizing the benefits of youth programs for rural youth in the southeast, North Star Research and Development Institute staff reviewed more than 140 publications dealing with the problems of rural southern youth. This report summarizes the relevant material from those publications. The views expressed are those of the authors of these publications and, therefore, reflect the emphasis that they have placed on various aspects. The information that is gained from this literature review will be used in developing hypotheses about the factors that are related to problems of occupational and social adjustment of a rural youth, and in designing model programs which seem likely to be of optimum benefit to these youths.

The Changing Environment of Rural Southern Youth

One of the major factors affecting rural southern youth has been the change in the economic base. Agriculture has become less important, and industry more important. Cotton, which was once the South's most dominant crop, began to decline after the 1930's. Mechanization has significantly reduced the number of part-time and seasonal farm jobs, and led to a decrease in the number of farm operators (especially of small farms). It has also become more expensive to enter farming. The wages paid to hired farm workers remain extremely low, and an excess of farm manpower is a major problem of the South.

People in rural communities also have little opportunity to obtain productive employment. Although the employment in nonfarm industry has grown, this growthhas been relatively modest. Gains have occurred in the service industries, in construction and in some manufacturing sectors -- primarily in the labor-intensive apparel and food processing industries that

use a high proportion of unskilled workers. But, for the most part, rural residents must move to an urban area to find employment in high-paying occupations.

Whites have preempted most of the jobs in southern industries. However, because of the lack of skilled workers in the local manpower pool, both blacks and whites in the South are often displaced by better qualified workers who are brought in from outside the area. Blacks who move to the North and West have better chances for employment outside of the service and labor area, and are able to make higher wages than they can in the South. However, nonwhites who migrate to northern cities are still less fortunate than whites in finding jobs.

Both whites and blacks have been migrating from the South, but 1970 census data indicate a slowing down of white migration. Some authors believe that the black migration has been predominately a youth movement; in other studies it was found that the peak migration rate of nonwhites comes at a later age and does not decline as rapidly as it does for whites. Improvements in rural education have tended to intensify the selectivity of outmigration by education levels, particularly among young blacks -- the better educated are more apt to migrate.

In the South there is apparently no "typical migrant" moving to a "typical destination". The movement of people is a two-way or even a multidirectional exchange of persons between regions and types of places. Black youths are likely to move in stages: first from the rural area to a nearby southern city, and later (especially those who find themselves severely disadvantaged in competing for jobs with poor whites in the southern cities) to a northern city. White youths who do not have to face racial barriers to employment in the South are less likely to relocate outside of the region.

The adjustment of the rural youth to urban life is greatly influenced by the length of time the migrant has spent in the city, by the status characteristics which the migrant assumes, by the presence of friends and relatives

in the city, and by participation in community organizations. Many of those who move to the city do not stay, but return to the rural areas and resume their places in the home communities.

Rural Southern Youth and Rural Southern Education

In the South in 1960 the median number of years of school completed was lower than the national figure for white youths and considerably lower for black youths. According to one writer, the average southern youth had completed one year of school less than the rest of the nation.

When a comprehensive analysis was made of the results of a variety of achievement, intelligence, and personality tests given to rural southern youths, it was found that white southern girls scored very close to national norms on most of the tests. Although white boys were not distinguished from white girls on overall measures of ability, older white boys failed to demonstrate comparable proficiencies on academic achievement tests. The ability level of black girls, on the average, was about one standard deviation below national norms. At the lower age levels, ability scores of the black boys werecomparable to those of the black girls; but black girls were superior at the older ages, and achievement test scores of black boys were inferior to those of black girls at every age group. Two factors were related to the results of these tests: children of higher socioeconomic status performed better on intelligence tests than children of lower socioeconomic status, and size of family was related to I.Q. scores among black children.

When the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) results for southern youth were compared, it was found that black boys scored the highest in the areas of impulsive acting out, inadequate sense of self, alienation from self and society, deficiency in sustained interest and overall personality disorganization. Black girls scored high on dissatisfaction with and alienation from their surroundings. Of the four groups, white girls had the greatest tendency to manifest "well-integrated" behavior.

In one study, southern youth were questioned about their occupational aspirations. Few mentioned farming as the choice of occupations. Nearly two-thirds of the youths specifically mentioned that they did not want to do the type of work that their same-sex parent was doing. Several authors noted that the aspirations of black youths may be unrealistically high in terms of the occupations they are likely to enter; at the same time, the youths' expectations of occupational success are probably lower than their aspirations.

The pace of integration in the South has generally been slow. Desegregation of the southern school systems has resulted in some attitudinal changes on the part of many white students. However, problemsof adjustment have also accompanied desegregation, and racial tensions have oftened weakened the public school system.

Enrollment in southern high schools has been low, but has been increasing steadily in recent years. Enrollment increases in the five states under study, were, however lower than the national average.

The dropout rates are high in southern schools and, although many students drop out of school before completing the eighth grade, the highest dropout rate occurs between the 8th and 9th grades.

The tax base in the five southeastern states of interest in this study is much lower than in the United States as a whole. As a result, school districts in these states must place greater reliance on state and federal financing than school districts in other states. Per pupil expenditures for a public elementary and secondary school have also been much lower than the national average in these five states. Expenditures for land, building construction, remodeling, purchase of equipment, and teacher salaries, particularly in rural areas, were also generally lower than the national average in these five states.

Until recently, the few financial resources available to southern public schools have been used to supply the operation of an excessive number of inefficient small schools. These small schools are unable to offer either the range or variety of courses recommended for an adequate program. Although the majority of southern high school students study essentially a college preparatory curriculum, less than 20 percent actually graduate from college. Very few high schools provide vocational courses appropriate to modern industrial needs.

Most teachers in the five states have taught for an average of 10 years. The most experienced teachers generally are the ones with lower educational attainment. Guidance counselors are generally well-educated; however, integration has created a need for counselors trained in intercultural relations. There is also a shortage of vocational counselors, especially for the black population.

Preparing Rural Southern Youth for Today's Job Market

Various types of programs have been developed to assist rural southern youth in preparing for the current job market. Funding for many of these programs is provided by the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA). Other programs such as the Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC), the Job Corps, and the Labor Department's Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) have also been designed and set up to aid disadvantaged groups.

In 1966, the latest year for which figures are available, most federal appropriations provided to the South under the MDTA were being channeled into institutional (classroom) and on-the-job (OJT) training programs. The extent to which these MDTA programs were being utilized varied considerably among the southern states but, in terms of total numbers, only a fraction of those requiring assistance were being reached.

During the initial stages of the NYC program, the requirement that NYC trainees receive the federal minimum wage was a major obstacle to the acceptance of the program in the southeastern states. Participation rates

in the NYC program are increasing, however, and the program is apparently becoming better accepted.

Youth from the southeastern states are more than proportionally represented in Job Corps programs. The South's participation rates accounted for 34 percent and 50 percent of the total national referrals in 1965 and 1966, respectively. Yet in spite of the high participation rates there is a scarcity of Job Corps centers in the South, and often youth must travel away from their home states in order to participate in the program.

It is stated in the literature that, because of the need in the South for educated and skilled workers, the impact of these federally sponsored programs can be substantial. The literature also notes, however, that if manpower programs are to be meaningful, they must be enlarged substantially and changes should be made to reduce the fragmentation of effort and the lack of clear-cut objectives that characterize existing programs.

A SURVEY OF RECENT LITERATURE RELEVANT TO OPTIMIZING THE BENEFITS OF YOUTH PROJECTS FOR RURAL YOUTH IN THE SOUTHEASTERN STATES

INTRODUCTION

North Star Research and Development Institute is conducting a program of research for the U. S. Department of Labor that is aimed at optimizing the benefits of youth projects for rural youth in the southeastern states. The objectives of the research are to identify factors related to problems of occupational and social adjustment of rural youth and to design model programs which, on the basis of our findings, seem most likely to be of optimum benefit to these rural youth. The present research project is a replication in five southeastern states of a study that was previously conducted by North Star with rural youth in the North Central states.

One segment of the project is a review of literature published since 1965, which is pertinent to the possible objectives of programs being developed for the southeastern states. Although the review of literature covers factors affecting rural youth generally, its principal focus is on the South and especially on rural conditions in the states of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina, which compose the target area of this project.

Included in the 142 publications from which information has been summarized are some major materials published before 1965 but considered particularly valuable in the development of hypotheses about the variables that may affect rural youths' ability to deal with the problems they face. Conditions vary greatly from one area of the country to another. The reader is therefore cautioned that what has been written about rural youth in the South may not apply to rural youth in other regions.

Several points of view, sometimes incompatible, are presented about some of the topics covered in this report. The views expressed are those of the authors, not those of the North Star staff. Thus, of necessity, this report also reflects the emphasis that has been placed on various aspects by current writers.

This literature search is only a small part of the research required to delineate practical courses of action that can be taken to optimize the benefits of rural youth projects. Published literature is, at best, only an historical map to guide further phases of the research; this review may report assumptions that are no longer valid.

PART I -- THE CHANGING ENVIRONMENT OF RURAL SOUTHERN YOUTH

Economic Environment

Southern Agriculture

Since the 1930's southern agriculture has become capital-intensive and highly commercialized. The use of machinery, fertilizer and pesticides has increased, while the number of acres used for farming in the South declined from 111 million in 1940 to 81 million in 1960(71). The average farm was twice as large in 1960 as in 1930, yet total man hours of labor for farming in the South in 1960 was less than half the 1940 figure. This substitution of capital and technology for labor has resulted in a dramatic rise in output per man-hour.

In the 1930's, the demand for cotton, historically the South's dominant crop, declined, and the mechanization of cotton farming occurred, making it necessary for many farmers to diversify to other crops(99). Tobacco became increasingly important to southern farmers, but in the 1950's severe cutbacks in tobacco acreage allotments resulted in further crop diversification(6). Although tobacco remains relatively important in some areas, farmers have turned to raising crops such as soybeans, peanuts and vegetables. The growing of these products, however, did not replace the losses felt by southern farmers when cotton and tobacco production was reduced(6).

Since World War II there has been a decline in the number of farm operators (especially operators of small farms), and a rise in investment per farm. These changes have reduced the opportunities in farming for many, and increased the costs for those who remain in agriculture. Mechanization also has significantly reduced the availability of part-time and seasonal farm jobs. During the 20 years between 1940 and 1960, the number

of agricultural jobs in the South decreased by more than 40 percent, or four million jobs[71]. As a result, great numbers of people migrated from rural areas to semi-rural and urban areas of both the South and the North in search of employment.

Yet an excess of farm manpower is still one of the major problems facing the South and continues to be a principal element in southern rural poverty. About 41 percent of the nation's poor families live in rural areas. A large proportion of them live in the Southeast, where poverty is concentrated in Appalachia, the Atlantic Coastal Plains, and the Black Belt of the old South[63]. People in rural communities have little opportunity to achieve productive employment and, in the years ahead, rapid mechanization could create even more labor problems in certain areas. Economists at the University of North Carolina, for example, estimate that if presently known technology in tobacco production were adopted in that state, about half of the total farm work force would be displaced[6].

Wages paid to hired farm workers are extremely low. Nationally, wages for farm laborers increased by more than 20 percent between 1960 and 1966, but the rate was only $1.36 per hour in July 1967, compared with a rate of $2.88 per hour for manufacturing workers. The difference was even greater in the South; labor rates for farm and manufacturing workers in July 1967 were $1.03 and $2.35, respectively[63].

Industrial Employment

The April 1971 Manpower Report of the President[134] shows that, nationally, the employment of rural residents in nonagricultural industries rose by 20 percent between 1950 and 1960. Between 1962 and 1969 nonfarm employment growth has been faster outside than within metropolitan areas.

Although the overall growth rate of nonfarm industry in the South has been relatively modest, gains did occur in the service industries, in construction, and in some manufacturing sectors[71].

Service industries showed the largest gain, both in the nation and in the South, and by 1960 represented 58 percent of all industrial employment in the South(71). Employment in the construction industry increased by 123 percent in the South between 1940 and 1960. Increases in these two industries represented 61 percent of the total growth in the nation as a whole and 69 percent of the total increase in the South between 1940 and 1960(71).

Principal factors contributing to the employment gains in the service and construction industries were large increases in demand as a result of population increases, the movement of people to the cities, and the rapid increase of per capita incomes. Furthermore, these industries were slow to mechanize and thus provided limited opportunities for substituting machines for human labor. In 1967 Maddox stated that these industries should continue to grow significantly in the next decade(71).

Between 1940 and 1960, the growth of manufacturing industries in the South occurred primarily in the labor-intensive apparel and food processing industries that employ a high proportion of unskilled workers. In the high wage, capital-intensive industries that traditionally utilize highly trained personnel, such as engineers and technicians, increases were not widely distributed among the southern states. In fact, increases in these industries accounted for only 39 percent of the employment gain in the South, compared with 58 percent for the nation as a whole in 1960. According to Maddox, unless the South provides more experienced, highly trained manpower, it will continue to attract the traditional labor-intensive types of industries and future employment gains will remain below national rates of gain(71). The 1971 Manpower Report of the President indicates that low wage, labor-intensive industries still dominate the South. The report does note a positive recent trend toward expansion in the manufacture of consumer items(134). For the most part, however, rural residents must still move to urban areas in order to find employment in high-paying occupations.

Migration

Selective Aspects of Migration

Racial Selectivity. Trends in rural southern employment have affected blacks more seriously than whites, largely because more rural nonwhites were landless, working for a share of the crops they produced or renting the land. Until the end of World War II, less than one-fourth of the black farmers owned their property. Even during the worst depression years of the 1930's more than half of the southern white farmers were landowners.

Lacking land, tenant farmers had little defense against mechnization, and many were displaced when landlords decided to operate with more machinery and fewer men. The tenant was the loser, too, when acreage allotments were cut and there was less land to be divided. The blacks, therefore, either shifted to part-time "underemployment" in agriculture or left the rural areas in greater proportion than whites[6].

According to Taeuber and Taeuber[111], between 1950 and 1960 nearly 1.5 million blacks migrated from the South. However, from 1950 to 1960, whites also migrated from the South. Excluding Florida's gain by migration of 1.5 million, the other 16 southern states together had a loss of 1.46 million whites[97]. 1970 Census Bureau data[126] indicate a slowing down of the white outmigration, but a continuing outmigration of blacks. The figures below are from the 1970 census reports for each state:

> Mississippi. Between 1960 and 1970, the total population of Mississippi increased only 1.8 percent. The white population increased 10.7 percent, while the black population decreased 10.5 percent (although blacks still constituted 37 percent of the state's population at the end of the decade). In twelve eastern and central counties, the number of nonwhites who migrated between 1960 and 1970 amounted to more than 40 percent of the 1960 population of those counties.

Alabama. Between 1960 and 1970, the population of Alabama grew 5.4 percent. As in Mississippi, the white population increased 10.7 percent, but the nonwhite population declined 6.9 percent. As a result of this change, the proportion of nonwhites in the total population of the state declined from 30 percent to 27 percent in the decade. Among nonwhites, the population decrease was 3 percent in metropolitan areas and 12 percent in nonmetropolitan areas. The 12 counties which had population declines exceeding 10 percent from 1960 to 1970 were in the southwestern quarter of the state and were predominantly rural. Outmigration from these 12 counties was 56,000 persons, of whom 4,000 were whites. The other 52,000 were equivalent to 38 percent of the 1960 nonwhite population of these 12 counties.

Georgia. Georgia's growth rates were higher than the growth rates for the rest of the southern region or the nation. But Georgia's outmigration pattern was similar to the outmigration patterns in other southeastern states. Of 133 counties for which data are available by race, all but 4 show heavy to moderate losses of blacks since 1960. By contrast, the white population shifted from a migration loss of 49,000 during the 1940's to a migration gain of 198,000 persons between 1960 and 1970.

South Carolina. Between 1960 and 1970, the total population of South Carolina grew 8.7 percent. Most of the growth occurred in metropolitan areas, yet only 2 out of 5 persons in the state (40 percent) lived in metropolitan areas in 1970 compared with the national average of 2 out of 3 (66 percent). Nonmetropolitan growth was slight because of rural outmigration. Whites accounted for 65 percent of the state's population in 1960 and 69 percent in 1970, a situation attributable to outmigration of 193,000 nonwhites, equivalent to 23 percent of the state's total nonwhite population.

North Carolina. North Carolina's population grew 11.5 percent between 1960 and 1970; almost all of the increase was in the white population. The ratio of nonwhites in the state population dropped from 25 percent in 1960 to 23 percent in 1970. The outmigration of 175,000 nonwhites was equal to 15 percent of the state's total 1960 nonwhite population. Of the 100 counties in North Carolina, 62 gained population and 38 lost population between 1960 and 1970. The 6 counties experiencing declines of 10 percent or more are all located in the eastern half of North Carolina where the population is entirely rural and largely black. The outmigration of nonwhites from these counties during the decade was equivalent to 34 percent of the 1960 nonwhite population of these counties.

Age Selectivity. Young adults are much more likely to give up old places for new than are people with families, homes, and established ways of earning a living[111]. Beale, Banks, and Bowles[7] estimated that in the United States in 1966, two-thirds of the rural outmigrants were under 30 years of age, and that migration rates were particularly high for youth in their upper teens. McElveen[74] estimates that two-fifths of South Carolina's under-30 population migrated during the 20-year period from 1940 to 1960 and the trend has continued. In his longitudinal analysis, he found that of more than 200,000 persons under 20 years of age in the state in 1940, almost half were out of the area by 1960. One-third of the 20 to 29 age group in 1940 were no longer in the area by 1960. Most of the migrants were in their early 20's.

Taeuber and Taeuber indicate that black migration has been predominately a youth movement[111]. In Georgia 45 of every 100 black males aged 15 to 34 in 1920 had migrated by 1930. Between 1940 and 1950, Mississippi lost half of its young blacks by outmigration, primarily to northern states[111]; and in South Carolina, of the 158,000 nonwhites under the age of 30 in 1940, almost 70 percent had left the area by the mid-1960's[74].

Bird and McCoy[14] indicated that white youth of "prime working age" also were migrating from the South, although at a somewhat lower rate than black youth. McElveen found that half of South Carolina's white youth migrated, compared to 70 percent of the black youth who left that state between 1940 and the mid-1960's[74].

Beale, Banks and Bowles[7], in their 1966 study, found that the peak migration rate of nonwhites came at a later age and did not decline as rapidly as it did for whites. Whites did not tend to migrate after the age of 30, whereas nonwhites migrated in substantial numbers until 45 years of age. In a later report published in 1971, Beale[9] notes that nonwhites in the middle and older age groups are still migrating.

Selection by Sex. Little information is available in the literature concerning migrational differences between males and females. Baughman and Dahlstrom[3] studied eighth grade pupils in North Carolina and found that females, and especially black females, were highly critical of the place in which they lived; many indicated that they would not want to raise families in the area. Substantial numbers of black girls expressed a desire to leave the area. However, many black males of that age also wanted to leave the area, realizing that job opportunities for them were almost nonexistent in rural North Carolina.

Beale and Bogue[4] found that more rural females indicated a preference to live in cities than did rural males. Beale, Banks and Bowles[7] found that females in the younger and older age groups had higher rates of outmigration than did males but lower rates in the 25 to 35 age range. However Carter[23], in analyzing questionnaire returns from 300 high school seniors in the Mississippi Delta, found that more males (78 percent) than females (63 percent) wanted to leave the area. Carter states that the "brightest boys" were included in the 78 percent desiring to leave.

Educational Selectivity. McElveen[74] found that many of the rural youth who migrated from the South had deficient educational backgrounds. In South Carolina, for example, more than half of the rural youth who left that state between 1955 and 1966 had not completed high school. However, some generational progress has been made; the median years of school completed by the children was twice that of their parents.

Table 1, below, indicates that rural whites and blacks in the South were generally lower in educational achievement than were their counterparts in the urban South and in other regions of the country[71].

Table 1

Percent of Males 8-17 Years Old Enrolled in School Who Were Retarded Two or More Grades in Their Age-Grade Process by Type of Residence, Region and Color, 1960

-- 8 - 13 years old --	South		North and West	
Type of Residence	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
total	3.2	8.3	1.0	2.7
urban	2.4	5.1	0.9	2.1
rural nonfarm	4.1	10.3	1.3	7.1
rural farm	4.3	15.0	0.9	8.5
-- 14 - 15 years old --				
total	9.4	23.2	3.4	8.4
urban	7.0	15.3	3.0	6.8
rural nonfarm	12.7	28.1	4.6	18.3
rural farm	10.6	35.8	3.0	24.3
-- 16 - 17 years old --				
total	10.4	27.4	4.7	12.0
urban	8.4	19.8	4.2	10.4
rural nonfarm	13.4	31.9	6.2	22.7
rural farm	11.4	40.5	4.1	22.9

These figures reveal that a higher proportion of youth between the ages of 8 and 17 in the rural South were two or more grade levels below that expected for their age than were students in the North and West. Retardation rates were higher for nonwhites in all age and residence categories, but especially high for southern blacks in rural areas.

Improvements in rural education have tended to intensify selectivity of outmigration by educational levels, particularly among young blacks. Beale[9] notes that 26 percent of the blacks who migrated to urban areas in 1967 were high school graduates, but only 16 percent of the blacks who

remained in rural areas had completed high school. Newman[89] reports that the majority of blacks who have moved from the South to other regions had at least some high school training, and one-fifth of these had a year or more of college.

Destination of Outmigrants

Taeuber and Taeuber[111] note that there is no "typical migrant" moving to a "typical destination". In many cases, the movement of people is not a simple migration away from a particular community or area, but rather a two-way or even a multi-directional exchange of persons between regions and types of places.

Generally, blacks were more likely to move in stages -- first from the rural area to a nearby southern city, and later to northern cities, although movement in the reverse direction also is noted (from North back to the South, or from large place to small)[111]. Silberman[101] states that blacks who found themselves severelydisadvantaged in job competition with poor whites in the southern cities tended to leave the region entirely. Three major routes of black migration developed: along the Atlantic seaboard as far north as Boston, north from Mississippi toward Chicago, and west from Louisiana and Texas toward California[97].

In 1910 there were fewer than one million blacks in the North and West; in 1960 there were more than one million blacks in New York City alone, and more than seven million blacks in other northern and western cities[111]. Between 1955 and 1960, half of the nonwhite migrants to New York came from North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, Georgia and Alabama; North Carolina alone supplied 20 percent of all of New York's nonwhite immigrants[97]. During the same 5-year period, almost 60 percent of the nonwhite migrants to Chicago came from Mississippi, Tennessee, Arkansas, Alabama and Louisiana, with Mississippi accounting for almost one-third of the total[97]. Three-fourths of the nonwhite migrants to Los Angeles in those same years came from Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi

and Alabama[97]. In contrast to 50 years earlier, when blacks were but a very small segment of the population of most northern and western cities, in several cities blacks now make up from one-fourth to one-third of the population[111].

According to Crecink[34], whites did not have to face racial barriers to employment in the South; thus they were less likely to relocate outside of the region. Most of the whites studied by Crecink indicated a desire to remain within the region, whereas most of the blacks were indifferent to location as long as the opportunity to earn a decent living existed. Southern whites who did leave the region were likely to move to the North Central states or to the West. The majority of white rural migrants, however, remained within the region, moving to cities such as Atlanta, Raleigh, or Birmingham, and accounting for much of the growth of those cities[7].

Social Adjustment of Migrants

Few studies have attempted to define the factors that contribute to the social adjustment of rural-to-urban migrants[90]. Those studies which have been conducted indicate that adjustment to urban life is greatly influenced by the length of time the migrant has spent in the city[90], by the status characteristics which the migrant assumes (such as neighborhood, income or occupation)[11], by the presence of friends or relatives in the city, and by participation in community organizations[105].

Studies tend to show that people who migrate from rural areas to an urban center generally participate less fully in formal social organizations than do migrants from other urban areas or persons who have always lived in the city. Most of the differences are explained by socioeconomic status and by length of time in the city. According to one author[22], the tendency of immigrants to cling to relationships already established with friends and relatives who preceded or who followed them to the city may help explain the persistence of low educational and occupational aspirations and achievement.

Some who leave rural areas create new problems for themselves; they find themselves living in overcrowded slums, facing a new and unfamiliar way of life. The newly arrived migrants bring with them, from a different setting, a full set of customs and traditions with knowledge of "what works" in interpersonal and intergroup relations; therefore, learning the ways of the city is not accomplished immediately. Although many do learn to adapt themselves to the urban environment, it should be noted that many of those who move to the city do not stay, but return to their homes and resume their places in the home community[103].

Occupational Outlook

Both black and white youth have been forced off the land by the decreased demand for agricultural manpower in the South but, because of discriminatory hiring practices, whites have preempted most of the jobs in southern industries[101]. Not only were blacks barred from most jobs in the new textile mills and industries in the South, but they also began to find their traditional occupations -- barbers, carpenters, waiters, masons, painters and sawmill hands -- being taken over by the "desperate" whites[101]. According to Dewey[38], the outpouring of unskilled whites from rural areas has subjected black workers to intense competition for even the "dirtiest" jobs. There are many examples of white workers as well as machines replacing black laborers.

Dewey notes that an additional handicap facing southern blacks is the traditional "Jim Crow" attitudinal set. Many southern whites believe that blacks and whites, especially black men and white women, cannot work together; that blacks cannot be employed where they must face a white public; and that blacks must be limited to subordinate jobs in mixed work groups[38].

Occupational dispersion and chances for employment outside of service and laboring jobs have been substantially greater for blacks in the North and West than in the South[89]. According to census data for 1960, almost half of all employed black men in the North were production workers, craftsmen,

clerical and sales workers; in the South, only one-third were so employed. One of the most impressive occupational gains in the 1950's, according to a recent study[89], was in the semiskilled field; black males accounted for the entire increase in the decade and replaced many white men who had moved on to better jobs. Most of this increase occurred outside the South.

The ratio of earnings of nonwhites to whites is substantially better in the North and West than in the South. This regional difference holds for each occupational group and at each age level, according to 1960 census data[89]. In 1959, the ratio of nonwhite to white median earnings of men aged 25 to 64 in the experienced labor force was only 50 percent in the South, but above 70 percent in the North and West[89]. Some overall improvement has occurred, yet nationally the 1967 median black family income was just 59 percent of the median white family income, and in 1969 the figure had risen to only 61 percent[131]. In the South, however, the median family income of blacks was significantly below those figures, being 54 percent of the median white family income in 1967 and 57 percent in 1969. The situation for blacks was most favorable in the North Central states, where the figure was 78 percent in 1967 and 76 percent in 1969. In the western states the median black family income was 74 percent of the median white family income in 1967 and 75 percent in 1969. In the northeastern region the figures for those two years were 66 percent and 67 percent respectively[131].

Nonwhites who migrate to northern cities are still less fortunate in their job search than are whites, however. Alice Kidder, in the Monthly Labor Review of July 1968[65], noted that the black worker in Boston, a city of heavy immigration, searched more intensely for a job and suffered a higher rejection rate than did his white competitor. Fifty-eight percent of the whites interviewed in the Kidder study indicated that they had never been turned down for a job; only 35 percent of the blacks made this statement. Sixty percent of the black job seekers reported making more than three attempts on an average job hunt, while only 31 percent of the whites

reported that they had done so. Kidder found that blacks turned more frequently to formal sources of job information; 92 percent of the black craftsmen had used the Massachusetts State Employment Service, while only 30 percent of the white craftsmen had done so. Blacks seeking "integrative jobs" (that is, those also prized by whites) found their chances of success remarkably small. Most black respondents, "anticipating" such discrimination, limited their job search to nonintegrative jobs.

Some rural whites have encountered the same difficulties as blacks in finding jobs in new southern industries. Irwin Gray[55], documenting the employment effects of a new Kaiser aluminum plant on a rural area (Ravenswood, West Virginia), reported that Kaiser set out to maximize hiring of personnel from the area but was forced to modify its plan when it became evident that directly applicable skills as well as academic preparation were lacking in the local manpower pool. As a result, better qualified workers were brought in from outside the area, although some of those workers were former Ravenswood residents who returned to the area as the prospect of long-term employment developed.

Rogers[98] found that high school dropouts in the South face additional employment problems. In his study of two rural counties in North Carolina, he found that a major difficulty faced by teenagers who drop out of school is that many employers are reluctant to hire dropouts because they are so young. Labor market conditions also appear to have much to do with the adverse employment experience of school dropouts. Rogers found that teenagers who had some high school vocational training, even though they dropped out of school before graduation, were more likely to be fully employed than were those who had none. This finding seems to indicate that increasing the availability of vocational training in the South could do much to help youth toward success in the job market.

PART II -- RURAL SOUTHERN YOUTH AND RURAL SOUTHERN EDUCATION

Characteristics of Rural Southern Youth

Level of Education

In 1960, the median number of school years completed by persons 25 years of age or older in the nation was 10.6 years[87]. The median for whites was 10.9 years and, for blacks 8.2 years. In the five southeastern states, the white median level of education ranged from a low of 9.8 years in North Carolina to 10.3 years in South Carolina and Georgia, while black educational medians ranged from a low of 5.9 years in South Carolina to 7.0 in North Carolina[87]. According to Hamlin[56], in 1967 the median number of school years completed by southern youth was only about one year below the rest of the country.

Achievement and Intelligence

Few studies dealing with the southeastern states provide information on student achievement and intelligence. One difficulty in assessing these characteristics in the southern areas is that standard achievement tests do not adequately measure the learning levels of black students. This is, in part, because of the white middle class bias inherent in the tests themselves.

Whitlock[142] notes that one valuable source of information on southern student achievement is the students' ability to pass military induction and preinduction aptitude tests. Whitlock found that fewer southerners were able to pass such tests than were students from other regions of the country.

The "Millfield" study by Baughman and Dahlstrom[3], considered to be one of the first comprehensive analyses of its kind, utilized a battery of intelligence and personality tests as well as interviews with children, parents and teachers to measure levels of intelligence and academic achievements. Convenient natural groups -- black and white, boy and girl -- were studied and compared at various age levels by performance in the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Test (S-B), the Thurstone Primary Mental Abilities Test (PMA), and the Stanford Achievement Test (SAT). Results, classified by sex and race, are abstracted below:

> White Girls. White girls scored closest to national norms on a variety of intellective measures. This was particularly evident at the younger age levels. Especially notable was the performance of this group on academic achievement tests at all age levels, indicating that the white girls were using their talents effectively for classroom learning.
>
> White Boys. On overall measures of ability, the white boys were not distinguished from the white girls. Older white boys, however, failed to demonstrate comparable proficiencies on the academic achievement tests; their performance was significantly below national norms in almost all academic areas examined, and definitely inferior to the academic performance of the white girls. (Mean IQ scores of the two sexes were, however, almost identical in the older age range).
>
> Black Girls. The ability level of black girls, on the average was about one standard deviation below the national norms for the S-B, and their deviation was somewhat greater on the PMA. The black girls also scored lower overall on the achievement tests than either white subgroup, and below national norms at almost all age levels. Scores from the component parts of the S-B, PMA, and SAT gave evidence of particular deficiency in verbal comprehension on the part of the black girls and indicate that the black girls are disadvantaged when confronted by ordinary academic demands.
>
> Black Boys. At the lower age levels, ability scores of the black boys were comparable to those of the black girls; but black girls were clearly superior at the older ages, and achievement test scores of black boys were inferior to those of the black girls at every age and for each test component except Spatial Relations and the SAT. As with

> the black girls, verbal deficits were very pronounced among the black boys. As was true for the white children, more black boys than black girls were below their natural school-grade placement.

Baughman and Dahlstrom isolated only two family factors which were related to these differences. One was that children from a higher socioeconomic status performed better on intelligence tests than children from a relatively lower socioeconomic status. This would tend to work against black youth, who were generally from families with a lower socioeconomic standing. The other factor, family size, affected only blacks; the findings showed a relationship between smaller number of children in a black family and higher IQ scores[3].

Sex differences in IQ scores were attributed to motivation and supported teacher evaluations that rated boys as less interested in or concerned with their classwork than girls. Motivation of white boys dropped off at age 10 or 11, while for black boys motivation seemed to be lacking at all age levels. The authors indicate that boys may consider areas of achievement outside of school to be more important than school course work[3].

O'Reilly[91] discussed a report by Coleman which compared black-white verbal ability, reading comprehension, and mathematics achievement at the sixth, ninth, and twelfth grade levels for two regions of the country: the Northeast and the South. Coleman found that the achievement differences in the three subject fields were relatively constant from year to year in the Northeast, with blacks consistently about one standard deviation behind whites. The most dramatic difference, however, was between whites and blacks in the urban Northeast and blacks in the rural South. While blacks in the two areas began first grade at about the same point below northeastern whites, the rural southern blacks diverge from both groups and are approximately two standard deviations below the average for whites in the urban Northeast by the twelfth grade.

Coleman observed that family background and the social class environment of the southern school are important factors in the southern black's cultural and educational deprivation; both offer few advantages for the typical black student[91]. Anderson[1] agrees that "conditions in Negro elementary schools in the rural South could have produced little else" than lower academic achievement. The black children themselves refer to their school buses, books and other equipment as "hand-me-downs" from the white schools. The black teachers in rural schools had none of the instructional supervision or educational materials that were supplied in other schools. Many of these schools had no libraries.

Coleman found that integration had positive, although rather small, effects on the reading and mathematics test performances of blacks. He attributed the differences in test scores to the ratio of blacks to whites in the classroom; the most noticeable advances were made by blacks when more than one-half of their classmates were white. However, O'Reilly also cited a study entitled Racial Isolation in the Public Schools which questioned the significance of the tests applied in the Coleman study, and cited a more sophisticated analysis by Wilson which failed to show that the proportion of whites in a classroom had any effect on black achievement. Wilson's study suggested that factors such as social class, school facilities, or curriculum might be more important[91].

Personality Traits

In only one study were the results of personality tests reported for rural southern youth. In the Baughman-Dahlstrom study of Millfield youth[3], four groups -- black boys, white boys, black girls and white girls -- were compared on the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI). The results of the test were combined with known facts about the students, such as peer relationships, academic standing, and teacher evaluations.

The school-age black males were found to be in greatest psychological "trouble". They scored the highest of all groups in such areas as impulsive

acting-out, inadequate sense of self, alienation from self and society, deficiency in sustained interests, and overall personality disorganization. The study showed decisive evidence of systematic devaluation of the black male by the black society at a very early age. Black girls and white boys had almost identical profiles in most segments of this test. Black girls, however, were found to be highly dissatisfied with and alienated from their surroundings. Test scores indicated that, of the four groups, white girls had the greatest tendency to manifest "well-integrated" behavior[3].

On the basis of the MMPI findings, Baughman and Dahlstrom concluded that if many of the Millfield children were moved to more complex environments, such as urban locales, or if the demands and confrontations they experience in Millfield were intensified, overt behavior pathology would become much more prevalent[3].

Baughman and Dahlstrom interviewed the students and found additional information which seemed to set the Millfield youth apart from students in other regions of the country. The authors note that perhaps of overriding significance is the fact that the students have a "pervasive within-race orientation" that causes them to look at themselves and their situations, not in terms of the full society, but with respect to the racial group to which they belong[3]. In other studies[1,27,28] it was found that the within-race orientation tends to decline as schools integrate, but is not easily lost. Several years are necessary before black and white children drop traditional racial barriers.

Beliefs About Higher Education

Seventy-five percent of the youth questioned in the Baughman-Dahlstrom study expressed a belief that a college degree was necessary. There were, however, significant race and sex differences in the answers; more black than white youth and more girls than boys gave positive college response[3]. Middleton and Gregg[77], in a study of twelfth graders in rural

Florida, obtained similar results. Forty-six percent of the black girls and 42 percent of the black males felt that college was necessary, while only 32 percent of the whites, male and female, felt that way[77].

Occupational Aspirations

In the Baughman-Dahlstrom study, young people were asked what kind of work they would like to do when supporting themselves[3]. Few mentioned farming, and almost two-thirds of the youth specially mentioned that they did not want to do the type of work that their same sex parent was doing. The racial difference in this regard is significant; 47 percent of the white children, but only 28 percent of the blacks, said they would like to do their parents' kind of work.

Cosby[29] questioned 5,992 tenth grade students in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi about their occupational aspirations. Approximately 63 percent of the students had high occupational aspirations; and even among the rural blacks and youth from broken homes, 56 percent had high occupational aspirations. Cosby expressed concern that the aspirations of black youth were probably unrealistic in terms of the occupations they were likely to enter.

In contrast to Cosby's findings, however, Drabick[42] found that black male senior agriculture students did not expect to enter occupations with as great a prestige level as the occupations whites expected to enter. In several other studies[54,58,77,106,108] it was also found that black aspiration levels were lower than white aspiration levels. Ohlendorf and Kuvelsky[68], however, support the Cosby findings of high black aspiration levels.

Edington[46], in reviewing these studies, notes that the discrepant findings might be caused by differences in the populations studied, or by social changes that occurred in the time that elapsed between the several

studies. Cosby supports his findings about the high aspiration levels of black youth by pointing out that he used a broad cross section rather than limited segments of the rural youth population. He also notes that the recent civil rights movement and related changes in attitudes about black pride and black power contribute to an atmosphere of optimism which was not present when the earlier studies were conducted[29].

Kuvelsky and Ohlendorf[68] note that while aspiration levels might be high, much "anticipatory deflection" exists; that is, the youth *expect* lower occupational success than their aspirations warrant. The authors believe that a more realistic job orientation, or a more open job market, would tend to ease this situation among black youth.

The Rural Southern Educational System

Segregation in Southern Schools

Table 2, below, indicates the general progress of integration in the five states covered by this study[115].

Table 2

Percent of Black Students Attending Desegregated Schools in Five Southern States in the 1963-64 and 1968-69 School Years

	1963-64	1968-69
Alabama	0.007	7.4
Georgia	0.052	14.2
Mississippi	0.000	7.1
North Carolina	0.537	27.8
South Carolina	0.003	14.9

One important reason for the slow pace of education integration in the South was the fact that most school districts adopted the "free choice" plan as a method of desegregation[114]. Under this plan, students who were formerly assigned to schools on the basis of race were given an opportunity each year to choosethe school they wished to attend on a nonracial basis. This did not eliminate the racial identity of schools, because whites selected white schools and black parents were often afraid to send their children to white schools, anticipating intimidation or hostility from white parents. In some areas of the South, physical violence and economic reprisals did occur against blacks who chose white schools.

Private white academies were set up as another method of perpetuating segregation. These academies were, in fact, encouraged by tuition grants and tax offsets allowed by the internal revenue service[114]. School districts were further aided by state officials who openly disregarded the law[115]. Federal enforcement procedures were hampered by lack of manpower to police the school districts, by abandonment of uniform compliance standards, and by reliance on court cases which drained time and money of the integrationists[115].

Integration in Southern Schools

Compliance with desegregation laws has, of course, now occurred in many southern communities, but problems of adjustment accompanied desegregation, and the challenges for pupils, parents, school personnel, and communities have been documented in a number of sources[1,12,27,28,51,114,115,129].

In the process of desegregation, the school has the distinction of being a first meeting ground for blacks and whites on a day-to-day basis. Despite careful planning and preparation on the part of school administrators, black children often have come to school on opening day to find themselves the only pupils present. In other cases, black students have been harassed and treated with disrespect. Coles noted that much of the strain of integration subsided within the first year, but the pressures had changed the high school curriculum from "book learning" to grappling with

human relations. The change has been recognized as more profound and rapid than any other in southern history[27,28].

Coles observed definite patterns of interaction between black and white students in desegregated schools, relating to age of the children, the neighborhoods in which they live, the climate of local opinion and, of course, to the children themselves[28]. Some attitudinal changes occurred, and many white students became more accepting of black students. However, the process of integration has had negative as well as positive features; racial tensions weakened the public school systems, and private systems were set up which often were not accredited and lacked fully qualified teachers[27,28].

Participation in the Southern Educational System

Student Enrollment. Enrollments in southern high schools have been low but increasing steadily in recent years. Only Mississippi reported fewer students enrolled in 1970 than in 1960. Alabama increased enrollments by 4 percent during this period; South Carolina, 7 percent; North Carolina, 8 percent; and Georgia, 20 percent[87]. These enrollment increases were, however, lower than the national average.

The number of southern students enrolled in vocational education is also increasing. In North Carolina, for example, vocational school enrollment has grown from 4,341 full-time students in 1963-64 to 28,250 full-time students in 1967-68[56].

Dropout Rates. Hamlin[56] reported in 1967-68 that the dropout rate was high in southern schools, and that many of those dropouts left school before completing the eighth grade. He also noted, however, that the number of dropouts who return to school is increasing.

Anderson[1] notes that the process of integration has affected the dropout rate. Tensions run high in newly integrated schools, particularly

for black students; but, according to Anderson, if the black student could finish the first year or two, his chances of finishing high school are very good. The highest dropout rate occurs between the eighth and ninth grades, the time when many black students are afraid to go to the white schools.

A report, The Ranking of States, presents an indication of the current dropout situation in southern schools by showing high school graduates in 1969-70 as a percentage of ninth graders in Fall 1966. The national average of this progress is 79 percent[87]. In South Carolina, 74 percent of the 1966 ninth graders completed high school in 1970; in North Carolina, 69 percent; in Alabama, 68 percent; and in Georgia and Mississippi, only 66 percent[87].

Economic Factors Affecting Southern Education

The Tax Base. The chief source of local governmental revenue is the property tax. In 1968-69, the latest year for which figures were available, average per capita tax revenue for the United States as a whole was $147. In the five southeastern states, per capita tax revenues were much lower, averaging $81 in Georgia, $63 in North Carolina, $58 in Mississippi, $48 in South Carolina, and $30 in Alabama[87]. These low local tax rates result in a greater dependence on state and federal financing for schools. The schools, according to one author[142], thus become more subject to political pressures than if financial support were derived from local revenue.

Per Pupil Expenditures. In each of the five states of this study, per pupil expenditures for public elementary and secondary schools in 1970-71 were much lower than the national average of $839. Per pupil expenditures in South Carolina were only $656; in North Carolina, $642; in Georgia, $634; in Mississippi, $521; and in Alabama only $489.[87] Whitlock[142] attributes this situation not only to meager financial resources, but also to the weak efforts exerted by citizens in most of the region to support education.

Teacher Salaries. Teacher salaries are generally low in the South, particularly in rural areas. Against the national average salary of $9,540 for a secondary school teacher in 1970-71, North Carolina's average was $8,290; Georgia's, $8,068; Alabama's, $7,451; South Carolina's, $7,275; and Mississippi's, $6,134.[87] Whitlock indicates that in addition to higher salaries, better housing, transportation, and public facilities must be provided to attract and retain teachers in these states[142].

Facilities and Staff

School Size. Until recently, the few financial resources available to southern public schools have been used to support the operation of an excessive number of inefficient small schools. As recently as 1962-63, approximately two-thirds of the public high schools in the southern region averaged fewer than 500 pupils, more than one-third enrolled fewer than 250, and only one high school in ten had as many as 1,000 students[142]. A major study of southern high schools[137] notes that there is a direct relationship between school size and such factors as teacher quality or number and types of courses taught. The study recommends that, wherever possible, small schools should be consolidated and isolated schools should be enriched through flexible scheduling, teacher assistants and shared services.

Expenditures for Equipment and Facilities. The most recent statistics available indicate that in 1967-68, expenditures for capital outlay (land, building construction and remodeling, purchase of equipment) exceeded the national average of $104 in only one state, Georgia, which had an average capital outlay expenditure of $105. Capital outlay expenditures in the other four states were much lower: Mississippi averaged $63, North Carolina, $57; South Carolina, $54; and Alabama, $48. Nationally, the value of school property (as determined by original cost plus additions and alterations) averaged $1,491 per pupil in attendance in 1967-68. Information was not available on North Carolina, but in Alabama this figure was $845; in South Carolina, $859; in Georgia, $903; and in Mississippi, $1,019[85].

Teacher Qualifications. A recent study of high school teachers in the southern region[137] found that 98 percent of southern high school teachers had Bachelor's degrees and 25 percent held Master's degrees. The study indicated that the preferable degree for high school teachers is the Master's degree. Four of the five states of this study were below the 25 percent regional level of teachers with Master's degrees. In Georgia, 24 percent of the high school teachers held Master's degrees; in Mississippi, 22 percent; in North Carolina, 21 percent; and in South Carolina, 19 percent. Alabama, with 31 percent, exceeded the regional average.

Most teachers in the southern region have taught for an average of ten years. Teachers in Alabama and South Carolina matched this regional average, while teachers in Georgia and North Carolina have an eight-year average and teachers in Mississippi average seven years of teaching experience. The most experienced teachers were, generally, also the ones with the lower educational attainment[137].

The same study revealed that, in certain courses, teachers lacked proper certification. In the five states in question, between seven and ten percent of the students were studying math, four to fourteen percent science, and three to seven percent a foreign language under teachers who were not certified to teach those courses[137].

Guidance Counselors. Guidance counselors in southern schools are generally well-educated. Vance[137] reported in 1966 that approximately 68 percent of the counselors in the southern region had Master's degrees; Alabama and Georgia exceeded this figure with 73 percent and 78 percent, respectively. As schools integrate, however, there is a great need for counselors trained in intercultural relations[1], and Hamlin[56] notes that there is still a great need in the South for vocational counselors, especially for the black population. Some special training for counselors is being provided under Title VI of the Education Act of 1964[129].

The Curriculum

General Quality. Vance[137], in his 1966 study, reported that school size seems to have an impact on the type and range of courses offered. In the South, with many small high schools, only 30 percent of the students were in schools offering at least 50 courses, the recommended minimum for an adequate program[137]. Course variety also was lacking, with 13 percent of southern students attending schools that had no foreign language, 57 percent in schools without art, and 14 percent in schools without music courses. The study also noted that, although educators recommend a class size of 25 pupils as desirable for instructional effectiveness, 44 percent of the classes throughout the South contained more than 30 pupils. In the five states covered by this literature review, from 40 percent to 46 percent of the classes contained more than 30 students[137].

College Preparatory Curriculum. Whitlock[142] noted that although the great majority of southern high school students were studying what was essentially a college preparatory curriculum, less than 20 percent actually graduated from college. The other 80 percent or more needed studies more closely related to occupational goals. Godwin[52] agrees, noting that colleges have oversold the effectiveness of a college degree in the job market. He suggests a need for some sort of balance between vocational, technical, professional and academic programs.

Vocational Education. As a result of the Federal Vocational Education Act of 1963, special educational centers have been built throughout the South. Vocational schools or technical institutes were started in Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. Mississippi concentrated its vocational effort in junior colleges, and North Carolina in community colleges or vocational technical schools[56]. These offer courses in business education; dental, medical, hospital technology and nursing; data processing; textile science; and welding and other subjects. Notable weaknesses of these systems are inadequate provision of counseling, lack of qualified teachers, and insufficient financing.

Whitlock[142] notes that a major problem with southern public high school education today is the failure of the schools to provide vocational courses appropriate to modern industrial needs. Employment opportunities in agriculture, for example, have been declining steadily, but the number of southern students in vocational agriculture has continued to rise.

PART III -- PREPARING RURAL SOUTHERN YOUTH FOR TODAY'S JOB MARKET

Overview

The influence of manpower programs is necessarily affected by the backdrop against which these programs operate. The South is unique with respect to several characteristics. The population of most of the southern states is largely rural, and most of the rural South is one vast poverty area. The prevalence of underemployment is closely associated with a rural population and the decline is agricultural employment. Indeed, it is underemployment, combined with the failure to develop the latent talents of its human resources, that explains the economic deprivation of much of the South(18).

Rural areas do not place a high priority on the quality of education. In this era, education is the vehicle to both vertical and horizontal job mobility, and unless there are drastic changes in the educational effort of the South, there can be little prospect for meaningful results from training programs. Without adequate education, training is possible for only the most menial and low-skilled occupations -- precisely the type of work which the South needs least(18).

Another feature of the region is its low wage structure, partly attributable to the dominance of agriculture, the lack of union organization, and the existence of many marginal enterprises. Programs that require the uniform payment to trainees of wages equal to the federal minium wage have created equity problems in many local communities. There also have been instances in which training allowances in some programs exceeded the wages that graduates can earn upon completion of the programs(18).

Finally, there is the heritage of denial of equal employment opportunity. The race issue is always present in any matter of importance in the South. Couple this with the apprehension of many southerners toward

the activities of the federal government, and local opposition begins to coalesce against manpower programs. In some instances, individual programs have been vetoed by state governors; in other cases, the threat of a veto has affected the character of a program; and at other times, available programs are not utilized[18].

Present Programs

Manpower Development and Training Programs

The programs authorized by the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) served about 80,000 young persons under 21 years of age in the United States in fiscal year 1970. Current figures are available for only MDTA institutional and on-the-job training programs. The institutional training provides classroom instruction for a wide variety of occupations. The on-the-job training places unemployed and disadvantaged persons into the private employment sector (under contract with the Department of Labor). These persons are trained on the job for regular jobs, usually with the firms that trained them.

The participation rates by race for youths in these two programs appear in Tables 3 and 4 below:

Table 3

Participation in MDTA Institutional Programs by Race, Age and State, 1971 (143)

	Under 19					19 - 21				
	Alabama	Georgia	Mississippi	North Carolina	South Carolina	Alabama	Georgia	Mississippi	North Carolina	South Carolina
White	52.5	61.6	49.0	32.9	38.6	44.4	68.0	40.6	63.3	38.7
Black	47.5	38.4	50.0	63.4	60.8	55.6	29.8	56.4	33.8	61.3
Other	0.0	0.0	1.0	3.7	0.6	0.0	2.2	3.0	2.9	0.0

Table 4

Participation in OJT Programs by Race, Age and State, 1971 (143)

	Under 19					19 - 21				
	Alabama	Georgia	Mississippi	North Carolina	South Carolina	Alabama	Georgia	Mississippi	North Carolina	South Carolina
White	47.1	53.1	62.4	54.8	55.0	68.4	63.1	51.3	53.2	53.3
Black	52.9	45.3	37.6	45.2	45.0	31.6	36.9	48.1	46.8	46.7
Other	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0

The proportions of black and white youths participating in the MDTA institutional programs are similar, but white youths predominate in on-the-job training programs. This may be due to a reluctance to hire blacks even to train for a particular job.

Rogers (98) studied two rural counties in North Carolina and found that, although MDTA programs were the least known among rural teenage dropouts, 11 percent of the blacks knew about these programs, but only 3 percent of the whites knew about them. Rogers indicates that this knowledge might help to narrow the employment differences between blacks and whites in the rural South because more black than white rural youths were familiar with government programs that would help them to obtain jobs.

The participation rates in institutional and on-the-job training, by sex, are presented in Tables 5 and 6:

Table 5

Participation in MDTA Institutional Programs by Sex, Age and State, 1971 (143)

	Under 19					19 - 21				
	Alabama	Georgia	Mississippi	North Carolina	South Carolina	Alabama	Georgia	Mississippi	North Carolina	South Carolina
Male	66.5	47.7	65.0	53.7	43.0	66.8	76.3	63.7	81.4	53.3
Female	33.5	52.3	35.0	46.3	57.0	33.2	23.7	36.3	18.6	46.7

Table 6

Participation in On-The-Job Training
by Sex, Age and State, 1971 (143)

	Under 19					19 - 21				
	Ala-bama	Geor-gia	Missi-ssippi	North Caro-lina	South Caro-lina	Ala-bama	Geor-gia	Missi-ssippi	North Caro-lina	South Caro-lina
Male	76.5	79.7	93.2	81.0	55.0	89.5	79.6	91.9	72.2	55.6
Female	23.5	20.3	6.8	19.0	45.0	10.5	20.4	8.1	27.8	44.4

The proportion of males taking part in these two programs greatly exceeds that of females. Little information was available about sex differences in participation in manpower programs in the literature. Perhaps the traditional role of woman as homemaker and man as breadwinner affects these participation rates in the Southeast.

Neighborhood Youth Corps

The Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) program was authorized by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and began in July 1965. In 1970, NYC had 482,000 first-time enrollees.

The program comprises three different but related components: a part-time employment program for young people in school, a program of remedial education and training in a skilled occupation for high school dropouts, and a summer program providing similar services for a much larger number of participants than during the school year. The NYC enrollee earns the minimum wage ($1.60 per hour). Out-of-school and summer program participants can work up to 40 hours a week; in-school participants can work up to 10 hours a week for 38 weeks during the school year.

During the initial stages of development of this program, the requirement that NYC trainees receive the minimum wage was a major obstacle to

the acceptance of the program in the southeastern states. Although participation has varied widely among the states in any given year, the participation rates are increasing, and the program is apparently becoming better accepted. Table 7 shows the rates of participation by state and race for 1971 (the only recent figures which were available were for NYC out-of-school programs):

Table 7

Participation in NYC Out-of-School Program by Race, Age and State, 1971 (143)

	Under 19					19 -2 1				
	Alabama	Georgia	Mississippi	North Carolina	South Carolina	Alabama	Georgia	Mississippi	North Carolina	South Carolina
White	56.5	98.5	28.2	34.3	19.3	25.0	0.0	10.5	0.0	18.2
Black	43.5	1.5	71.8	60.7	80.1	75.0	100.0	78.9	42.9	81.8
Other	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	10.6	57.1*	0.0

In most cases, black youths predominate in their participation in the NYC out of school program. Since black dropout rates are so high in the Southeast, more black youths are available to take part in an out-of-school program. This information also corresponds to the findings in the Rogers study of teenage dropouts in rural North Carolina (98). Rogers found that a much larger proportion of the youths in his study group were familiar with the NYC program -- 37 percent had heard about it, but only 8 percent of the youths had heard about MDTA programs. However, only 27.5 percent of the white teenagers knew about NYC, whereas 46 percent of the black teenagers knew about this program.

*The 57.1% other in North Carolina are Indian youths. In North Carolina youths from several tribes are active participants in manpower programs.

Rogers detailed additional reasons why black youths would be more likely to partake in federal manpower programs. He believed that the programs, first of all, were designed to attack problems which are faced more frequently by blacks. Furthermore, fewer informal means of finding jobs are available to black youths. They then are more apt than white youths to visit the local Employment Security Commission office where they may learn about manpower programs.

Table 8 indicates participation rates by sex, age and state in the NYC Out-of-School program.

Table 8

Participation in the NYC Out-of-School Program by Sex, Age and State, 1971 (143)

	Under 19					19 - 21				
	Alabama	Georgia	Mississippi	North Carolina	South Carolina	Alabama	Georgia	Mississippi	North Carolina	South Carolina
Male	47.5	54.7	42.8	42.0	28.9	75.0	50.0	31.6	57.1	9.1
Female	52.5	45.3	57.2	58.0	71.1	25.0	50.0	68.4	42.9	90.9

The proportion of females participating in this program was generally higher than the proportion of males. It may be that more females drop out of school and are recruited for an out-of-school program; they may or may not have contacts with other manpower programs. The literature provides no clues about this.

The Concentrated Employment Program

The Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) is designed to coordinate several different training and employment programs serving the disadvantaged. In fiscal year 1970, 45,000 of those who were served were under 22 years of age. CEP is urban oriented and focusses mainly on slum neighborhoods, although some CEP programs have been placed in impoverished rural areas.

In fiscal year 1970 there were CEP sponsored projects in 82 cities and 13 rural areas. The participation rates of black and white youths in the CEP program in the southeastern states is presented in Table 9:

Table 9

Participation in the CEP Program by Race, Age and State, 1971 (143)

	Under 19					19 - 21				
	Alabama	Georgia	Mississippi	North Carolina	South Carolina	Alabama	Georgia	Mississippi	North Carolina	South Carolina
White	33.3	37.2	4.8	6.0	23.1	14.6	23.2	10.7	7.6	13.5
Black	66.7	62.8	94.0	85.7	76.9	83.3	75.0	87.5	88.3	86.5
Other	0.0	0.0	1.2	8.3	0.0	2.1	1.8	1.8	4.0	0.0

The urban ghetto orientation of this program is reflected in the black participation rates in the CEP program. Also, CEP programs are likely to be set up in the most impoverished rural areas which tend to be in the black belt of the South.

Participation rates by sex in the CEP program are presented in Table 10:

Table 10

Participation in the CEP Program by Sex, Age and State, 1971 (143)

	Under 19					19 - 21				
	Alabama	Georgia	Mississippi	North Carolina	South Carolina	Alabama	Georgia	Mississippi	North Carolina	South Carolina
Male	36.7	32.6	95.2	59.5	62.6	43.8	39.3	85.7	51.6	52.0
Female	63.3	67.4	4.8	40.5	37.4	56.2	60.7	14.3	48.4	48.0

The participation by sex varies in each state, but the participation of females is generally lower than that of males. As in the previous programs, no explanation is given for the differential participation by sex in the literature.

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